DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 182 487 CE 024 009

AUTHOR Miller, Joanne
TITLE Individual and Occupational Determinants of Job Satisfaction: A Focus on Gender Differences.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Mental Health (DHEW), Bethesda, Md.
PUB DATE 79
NOTE 52p.; Figures may not reproduce well due to small type

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Comparative Analysis; Employee Attitudes; Employees; *Individual Differences; *Job Satisfaction; Occupations; Organizational Climate; Rewards; *Sex Differences; *Work Environment; Working Women

ABSTRACT

Based on two related sets of data from the 1979 Kohn and Schooler followup study of 626 men, ages 26-65, who were part of the employed, civilian labor force in 1964, a study investigated the determinants of job satisfaction for these men, and 269 of their 555 wives who were formally employed ten or more hours per week. Correlations between job satisfaction indexes and indicators of job conditions (occupational self direction, organizational structure and position, job pressures and uncertainties, and extrinsic rewards and protection) were used in multiple regression analyses. Strong evidence was found of a direct connection between day-to-day job conditions and workers' satisfaction regardless of gender. Furthermore, causal models demonstrate that the effect of job conditions on job satisfaction is not the result of selective entry of workers into particular occupations or people adjusting performance on the job according to current satisfaction with their work. Although both men and women evaluate their jobs in terms of immediate work environment, there are differences in the particular job conditions that influence their assessments. Some of these differences can be related to individual work values that may alter the subjective nature of work experiences. However, the nature of particular jobs and potential sources of gratification also suggest explanations for different reactions to specific job conditions. (Author/ME K)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

MAR 7 1980

ED182487

INDIVIDUAL AND OCCUPATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF JOB SATISFACTION: A FOCUS ON GENDER DIFFERENCES

Joanne Miller

Laboratory of Socio-environmental Studies
National Institute of Mental Health
Building 31, Room 4C-11
9000 Rockville Pike
Bethesda, Maryland 20205

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Author's Note: An earlier version of this paper was presented to the American Sociological Association at its 1979 convention in Boston. I am indebted to Cheryl Keller for her help with statistical analyses and to Carrie Schoenbach for assistance in computer programming and index construction. This paper would not have been possible without Ronald Schoenberg's statistical consultation and inventiveness in modifying the LISREL computer program.

CE024009

This study investigates the determinants of job satisfaction for male and female workers. There is strong evidence of a direct connection between day-to-day job conditions and workers' satisfaction, regardless of gender. Furthermore, causal models demonstrate that the effect of job conditions on job satisfaction is not the result of selective entry of workers into particular occupations or people adjusting performance on the job according to current satisfaction with their work. Although both men and women evaluate their jobs in terms of the immediate work environment, there are differences in the particular job conditions that influence their assessments. Some of these differences can be related to individual work values that may alter the subjective nature of work experiences. However, the nature of particular jobs and potential sources of gratification also suggest explanations for differential reactions to specific job conditions.

This paper examines the relationship between occupational conditions, individual characteristics, and job satisfaction. The subjective appraisal of job experiences involves both the cognitive assessment of what the job offers and a hierarchy of values that determines what is sought from employment (Locke 1969). Job satisfaction or dissatisfaction can thus be the product of individual social and psychological attributes as well as objective assessment of job conditions. If the cognitive aspects of judgments about work are emphasized, attention is focused on the objective features of the work environment that explain variation in job satisfaction. If, on the other hand, differences in values are viewed as the critical determinants of job satisfaction, individual characteristics are emphasized. (See Mortimer 1979 and Locke 1970, 1976 for reviews of literature on the two perspectives). This study attempts to disentangle the relative importance of job conditions and individual attributes for job satisfaction.

One individual characteristic that may affect job satisfaction is gender. Men's and women's orientations to work are said to differ in fundamental respects. Differential socialization before entry into the labor force, dissimilar parental and conjugal roles, and systematic differences in occupational opportunities suggest that job expectations, career aspirations, reward values, ego investment in work and need for self-actualization in the workplace may vary by sex. The same job conditions may be of greater, or lesser importance for job satisfaction

because male and female workers differ in these or other psychological attributes.1 If there are basic differences by sex in what is sought from employment experiences, reactions to job conditions can be viewed as conditional on these individual definitions or needs.

The empirical distinction between occupational and individual determinants of job satisfaction may be further complicated by other characteristics of the worker. An association between job conditions and job satisfaction may be the result of the selection of workers into particular occupations on the basis of social characteristics that also influence responses to work. For example, an obvious prerequisite for employment is education, which ordinarily precedes the job and determines eligibility. To the extent that job satisfaction is predetermined by educational experiences, the impact of job conditions, per se, could be misinterpreted.

It is also possible that there is selection into jobs on the basis of the psychological predisposition to be satisfied or dissatisfied. In other words, people with positive work orientations might be able to obtain and hold onto jobs with desired characteristics, while dissatisfied workers find work with less desired conditions. Individual characteristics brought to the job must be examined as independent determinants of job satisfaction and statistically controlled, to assess the effects of occupational conditions on workers' satisfaction. Furthermore, the competing hypothesis

that the relationship between current job conditions and current job satisfaction is the result of individuals molding their job conditions as motivated by current job satisfaction must be investigated.

In this study, all analyses are carried out separately for men and women. We begin by assessing the degree of association between job conditions and workers' satisfaction. The independent importance of individual characteristics for satisfaction are then investigated, to test whether the relationship between job conditions and job satisfaction can be attributed to the social and psychological characteristics of workers in particular occupations. Next, we examine critical questions of causal ordering, investigating competing hypotheses that job satisfaction determines job conditions.

THE DATA

The analysis is based on two related sets of data from Kohn and Schooler's 1974 follow-up survey of men aged 26-65 who were part of the employed, civilian labor force in 1964 (Kohn and Schooler 1978). The men in this longitudinal subsample are representative of those workers who were between 26 and 65 years of age in 1974.2 At the time of the 1974 interview, 626 of these men were still employed. In the 1974 follow-up

survey, an attempt was made to interview the present wife of every male respondent. An identical questionnaire was administered to 555 women, 90% of those eligible. At the time of the interview, 269 women were formally employed ten or more hours per week. These women constitute our sample of female workers.

The characteristics of the women's sample closely approximate those of employed, married women in the appropriate age-range in the general population in 1974. Nevertheless, there are several problems of generalizability. Results based on a sample of married women may not extend to the never-married and the previously married. In addition, the sample does not adequately represent the youngest and oldest employed women, because it consists of women married to men who were at least 26 years old and not older than 65 at the time of the follow-up survey.

The limitations of the women's data should not be understated, but identical survey instruments administered to men and women in 1974 make possible a useful comparison by gender. Although married women are not representative of the total female labor force, they are an appropriate population to test the hypothesis that sex-role differences alter the effect of occupational conditions on job satisfaction, because married, employed women are especially likely to be subject to actual and potential conflicts among occupational, conjugal, and maternal roles. In addition, married women living with their husbands constitute nearly three-fifths of

the female work force and the most dramatic increases in labor force participation are occurring among currently married women (U.S. Department of Labor 1976; Oppenheimer 1970). Further discussion of the sampling constraints can be found in Miller et al. 1979.

MEASUREMENT OF JOB SATISFACTION

In this analysis, job satisfaction is defined as the cumulative, subjective evaluation of discernible work experiences in which individual values are used as a standard. As such, affective responses to work can vary in content as well as intensity (Locke 1969). Nineteen specific criteria for judging work were included in Kohn and Schooler's occupational survey (see Table 1). Respondents were asked about their degree of satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with the specific aspects of their jobs they deemed important. These judgments were then weighted as fairly or very important and averaged (Kohn and Schooler 1973). Satisfaction with an aspect of work that is considered very important is weighted twice as much as satisfaction with a dimension of work considered only fairly important. This approach assumes that a job is not evaluated as a single entity but as a group of multi-dimensional tasks performed in a certain physical and social context and that the meaning of job satisfaction intrinsically varies by the preferences and expectations brought to the job.3

The job satisfaction index used in this analysis takes into account differences in individual values by weighting work evaluations according to the degree of importance the respondent attaches to the job characteristic. This operationalization immediately focuses the analysis on possible differences in the priorities by which men and women judge working conditions. We find that both men and women consider a broad range of job characteristics to be important. Of the 19 conditions discussed, 16, on the average, were defined as at least fairly important, with no mean difference in the number of job conditions cited by sex. The sex of a worker is not systematically related to the importance placed on pay, fringe benefits, how interesting the work is, the chance for exciting work, the supervisor, co-workers, opportunity to feel pride in craftsmanship, or job security (see Table 1). Men and women seem to judge work along many similar dimensions -- especially in terms of economic advantage, interest, pride, and other people in the immediate work setting.

However, there are some systematic differences in criteria for judging work. Men are more likely to emphasize positional authority (the opportunity to exercise leadership, make decisions, and get ahead), while women are more likely to emphasize job pressures (hours, pressure, cleanliness, and how tiring the work is). Men and women also differ in their evaluation of the importance of freedom, prestige, and chances to use their abilities and help people. To the extent that women's priorities are

systematically different from men's, one might expect gender differences in subjective reactions to actual job experiences. However, this is but one possible source of difference in men and women's reactions to work experiences. Even if men and women's orientations to work were identical, reactions to actual job conditions could still be contingent on gender because of other psychological attributes or life circumstances associated with gender.

MEASUREMENT OF JOB CONDITIONS

Following Kohn and Schooler's dimensionalization of occupational experience (1973, 1980), this study focuses on those job conditions that are most central to the nature of the work performed. These "structural imperatives of the job" are basic conditions — defining the structure of work impinging on the worker directly and persistently. These include job conditions that determine the level of occupational self-direction, job pressures, organizational structure and position, job uncertainties, and rewards and protections of the job.

Occupational self-direction is defined as the use of initiative, thought and independent judgment in work. In large part, self-direction will be determined by the level of substantive complexity, closeness of supervision, and routinization of work. These job conditions best reflect

the intrinsic nature of the work performed in that they define its substance, challenge, and control. The index of substantive complexity is based on detailed job descriptions that were coded in terms of seven indicators: hours of work with data, with things, and with people; complexity of work with data, with things, and with people; and an appraisal of the overall complexity of the work. Thus, the index reflects complexity in different domains of work and the time spent working with data, people and things. Closeness of supervision is measured by the worker's assessment of: freedom to disagree with the supervisor, how closely she/he is supervised, the extent to which the supervisor "tells" the employee what to do rather than "discussing" it, and the importance of doing what one is told to do. Routinization is measured by a single indicator, reflecting the variability of tasks. Respondents' work was coded from most variable (the work involves doing many things and one cannot predict what may come up) to least variable (the work is completely predictable). A detailed description of the measurement model of the three components of occupational self-direction for men can be found in Kohn and Schooler 1980, for women in Miller et al. 1979; the two models are summarized in figure 1.

Job pressures may be intrinsic to the nature of the tasks performed or imposed by worker or management. In this analysis, job pressures are measured by four single-item indicators. Three job pressures are

identified through the respondent's appraisals of frequency of time pressure, how dirty she/he gets, and the number of hours worked in the average week; the fourth, heaviness of work, is based on a description of work with things.

Organizational structure and the worker's position within that structure is measured by a combined index of the number of formal levels of authority in the organization and its size (bureaucratization, Kohn 1971), ownership/nonownership, and position in the supervisory hierarchy, i.e., the number of people over whom the respondent has direct or indirect supervisory authority.

Job uncertainties are considered to be less immediate job conditions because they do not relate directly to tasks defining the work or position of the employee. They are also less definite in scope, yet they differentiate jobs. Job uncertainties are measured by two single-item indicators: the individual's perception of the likelihood of being held responsible for things outside his/her control and the risk of losing his/her job or business.

Extrinsic rewards of work include measures of job income and job protections. Protections cover fringe benefits such as sick pay as well as contractual agreements that establish grievance procedures, rules of tenure and seniority, and union representation.

THE DETERMINANTS OF JOB SATISFACTION

To assess the relationships between occupational conditions and job satisfaction, the correlations among the concepts for which we have multiple-indicator models and between each of these concepts and those indexed by single indicators were calculated. These correlations are used in the multiple-regression analyses that follow.

Table 2 (1st pair of cols.) provides evidence of the relationship between day-to-day job experiences and workers' satisfaction. The multiple correlation of job conditions and job satisfaction is .44 for men and even higher, .50, for women. Before interpreting these relationships or making more detailed gender comparisons, however, we must test whether these relationships can be attributed to the social and psychological characteristics of the workers.

Selection processes are of particular concern in this analysis should they operate differentially by sex. If men and women are recruited into jobs or retained according to different social or psychological criteria, the relationships in the first pair of columns of Table 2 could misrepresent gender differences in reactions to specific job experiences. In the rest of Table 2, we investigate the impact of background and previous satisfaction on current job satisfaction. Background variables included in the analysis are respondent's age and level of education,

mother's and father's levels of education, father's occupational status, racial, national, and religious background, and the urbanness and region of the country where raised.4 For men, earlier job satisfaction is measured for the job held in 1964, during the first interview of the study. A weighted index of satisfaction is constructed in the manner already described for the 1974 job. The cross-sectional data on women allow only a retrospective and more general estimate of earlier job satisfaction. Women were asked to make a single overall assessment of their satisfaction with the job immediately preceding the one held in 1974.5

The Effects of Background and Earlier Satisfaction with Work

We find that education and social background are more important concomitants of women's job satisfaction than of men's. The multiple-partial correlation of background characteristics and job satisfaction for women is .34 as opposed to .15 for men (a statistically significant difference), controlling for job conditions and previous satisfaction with work. Specifically, higher educational attainment is negatively related to job satisfaction for both sexes, but is substantially stronger for women (beta=-.25 for women, -.11 for men; b's=-6.76 and -2.17 respectively).6 In addition, women of urban origin tend to be more dissatisfied with their work than women from a nonurban background

(beta=-.25, b=-7.45), but this is not true for men (beta=-.03, b=-.91). These are the only background characteristics that have statistically significant relationships with men's or women's job satisfaction.

We cannot say definitively whether decreased job satisfaction associated with education and urban origin results directly from the particular nature of these experiences for women. It is possible that the expectations and aspirations developed by women from urban environments and with higher levels of education are different from or more intense than those developed by men of similar background. However, the strong negative effects of education and urban background on women's job satisfaction may also be reflecting the fact that women are more poorly fitted to their jobs than are men. We find, for example, that for a given level of substantive complexity, there is more educational heterogeneity among women than among men; the correlation between complexity and education is .73 for men and .61 for women (a statistically significant difference.) Similarly, men of urban origin are more likely to obtain substantively complex work than women from a similar background (r=.30 for men and .15 for women, a statistically significant difference). If higher levels of education and urban background resulted more consistently in women obtaining work of a more substantively complex nature, the negative effects of education and urbanness on women's job satisfaction would probably be less pronounced.

Table 2 also indicates some stability of satisfaction over time but, not as strongly as might be expected, if work satisfaction were primarily a psychological predisposition brought to the job. A detailed comparison of the stability of job satisfaction for men and women cannot be made with these data. As noted above, the women's measure of earlier employment statisfaction is a single-item assessment of overall job satisfaction, not the composite index. Also, the women's "earlier" satisfaction measure refers to the immediately preceding job; in the men's data, the referent is the 1964 job, which can be the same as the 1974 job. Thus, we should expect job satisfaction to be less stable over time for women than for men, because of differences in the measurement of earlier satisfaction.

The Effects of Job Conditions

Although there is some evidence that job satisfaction is affected by the social or psychological characteristics of the worker, processes of occupational selection and recruitment do not fully explain the effects of job conditions on workers' satisfaction. Statistically controlling background characteristics and earlier job satisfaction does not diminish the relationship between day-to-day job conditions and current job satisfaction.7 A variety of job conditions have independent effects on workers' satisfaction.

Occupational Self-Direction. Both men and women are affected by the intrinsic level of occupational self-direction in their work (see multiple-partial correlations in Table 2). Workers report higher levels of satisfaction when they can use initiative, thought, and independent judgment on the job. However, the particular aspects of self-directed work that increase job satisfaction differ by gender. Substantive complexity is clearly most important for women's job satisfaction, while closeness of supervision is most central for men.

The strong effect of substantive complexity on women's satisfaction with work is most clearly demonstrated when education is controlled (compare 1st and 2nd cols. for women in Table 2). Before education is statistically controlled, the negative association between education and job satisfaction (see earlier discussion) partially masks the positive effect of complexity on satisfaction, because educated women tend to perform substantively complex jobs. A similar suppressor effect is also found for men; but, it does not override the attenuation of the net effect of complexity when all other variables in the analysis are controlled.

The small effect of substantive complexity on men's job satisfaction is explained by two variables with which it is correlated — closeness of supervision and earlier job satisfaction. If closeness of supervision is removed from the final regression equation in Table 2, the standardized effect of complexity on satisfaction would increase from .10 to .30. If

earlier job satisfaction were removed from the final regression equation, the standardized coefficient would increase from .10 to .18. If both were removed, the standardized coefficient would be .37.

The gender difference in the effect of complexity on job satisfaction is probably not, in main part, due to differences in the measurement of earlier satisfaction, although it appears that the stability of satisfaction for women has been underestimated. If the correlation between women's earlier and current job satisfaction were fixed at the value found for men (.34), the effect of current job complexity on women's job satisfaction would be only slightly attenuated (beta=.26).

The importance of closeness of supervision for men's job satisfaction is clear in all the net relationships, while women's job satisfaction appears unaffected by the nature of supervision. This does not result from women disregarding supervision as a criterion for judging work; there is no gender difference in the importance of the supervisor (Table 1). However, the strength of the effect of supervision on job satisfaction for men may result from the high priority they place on positional authority and making decisions.

Supervision is conceived as a limiting condition (Kohn and Schooler 1969). Employees cannot exercise self-direction if they are closely supervised. Not being closely supervised, however, does not necessarily mean that the worker is required — or even free -- to use initiative,

thought, and independent judgment. It will depend on the nature of the work. Although there is substantial variation in how closely female employees are supervised, the absence of supervision in women's jobs does not necessarily mean they are consistently free to use initiative. We find that the correlation between substantive complexity and supervision is much lower for women than for men (-.34 compared to -.61 for men; a statistically significant difference), suggesting that freedom from supervision in a woman's job does not necessarily allow occupational self-direction.8 This point is illustrated in the second-order measurement models of occupational self-direction (see figure 1). For men, closeness of supervision is a strong indicator of self-direction in work (standardized path from self-direction to supervision = -.69, unstandardized = -.31). For women, it is much weaker (standardized path = -.34, unstandardized = .10). Freedom from supervision may not be the same source of gratification for women as for men because this freedom does not offer the same opportunities for occupational self-direction.

Job Pressures. Time pressure decreases the job satisfaction of both male and female workers. In addition, women appear sensitive to the deleterious effects of long hours and dirty work. Overall, job pressures are much more critical to the job satisfaction of female workers than that of men.

Organizational Structure and Position. The formal structure of the firm or organization and the worker's position in the hierarchy of that structure affect men's satisfaction with work, but do not significantly influence women's satisfaction. Men tend to be more dissatisfied in large, vertically organized firms than men employed in small organizations with fewer supervisory levels. And, they are more satisfied, the higher their own position in the supervisory hierarchy.

The negative effect of large size and many levels of formal authority (bureaucratization) on men's job satisfaction is stronger than has been previously reported (Kohn and Schooler 1973). In these data, the zero-order correlation is negative, but small (-.07). The effect becomes much stronger when job protections are controlled. Men who work in large organizations with many levels of formal authority have more job protections than men who work in small organizations with few levels of formal authority (r=.41); and, job protections increase satisfaction with work. When job protections are held constant, the negative effect of the index of size and levels of formal authority on job satisfaction is statistically demonstrated.9 [For women, the zero-order correlations of organizational structure and job protections with satisfaction are statistically nonsignificant (-.03 and .02 respectively) and the association of job protections with structure is weaker (r=.28).]

Job Uncertainties. The risk of loss of job or business reduces worker satisfaction, regardless of gender. Frequent responsibility for things outside one's control does not systematically influence worker satisfaction.

Extrinsic Job Rewards and Protections. Job income is important for women's employment satisfaction but job protections are not significantly related. For men, job protections are more important than income in determining job satisfaction. This difference probably stems from part-time patterns of work among women and the differential unionization of men's and women's occupations. There is a statistically significant difference in the mean and variance of the number of protections by gender -- women's jobs offering fewer protections -- and, women are significantly less likely to have union representation than are men. As a result, the financial guarantees offered by women's jobs are probably more limited than those of men's jobs. We find, for example, that women are less likely to receive sick-pay benefits than men; and, the correlation between union representation and contract guarantees is much stronger for men than for women, .50 compared to .29. The importance of job income, relative to job protections, for women's job satisfaction is not surprising. For men, monetary compensation is often included under job protections; thus, the net effect of job protections on satisfaction is greater than that of income.

In sum, there is strong evidence of a direct connection between day-to-day job conditions and job satisfaction, for both men and women. Conditions that encourage occupational self-direction and make work intrinsically rewarding are related to greater satisfaction, as are the extrinsic benefits of high income and job protections. Employment uncertainty and job pressures are associated with dissatisfaction with work, particularly for women. For men, positional authority is also relevant to job satisfaction: the larger and more hierarchically organized the system of authority of the firm or organization and the lower the respondent's supervisory position, the more dissatisfied is the male worker.

TESTS OF CAUSAL ORDERING

Job Satisfaction and Job Changes

Although current occupational conditions are related to current job satisfaction independently of background and earlier satisfaction with work, further interpretation of these relationships requires tests of causal ordering. The regression analyses presented in Table 2 assume that job conditions determine a worker's satisfaction. They do not explore the impact of job satisfaction on job conditions. Figure 2 illustrates the

effects modeled in Table 2 and suggests other causal relationships. The expanded model posits that previous job satisfaction can affect current job conditions through job changes (path A in figure 2). In other words, satisfaction with the previous job can affect current employment decisions and opportunities, thereby determining the nature of the current job.10

Table 3 shows the effects of earlier job satisfaction on 1974 job conditions, for men and women. Earlier job conditions and background are controlled in order to assess the net impact of earlier satisfaction on current job conditions. For men, earlier job information is available from the first interview of the panel study. It includes data on all the occupational conditions examined in Table 2, for the 1964 job. In the women's cross-sectional data, we rely on retrospective reports about the job immediately preceding the one held in 1974. The women's job-history information is not complete, but it includes measures of substantive complexity, routinization, closeness of supervision, time pressure, average hours worked per week, dirtiness, formal organizational structure, position in the supervisory hierarchy, and the probability of being held responsible for things outside one's control.11

We find that satisfaction with earlier work can have occupational consequences. Workers who were satisfied with their previous jobs currently work under less time pressure and are less frequently held

responsible for things outside their control than are workers who were less satisfied with previous employment. Women, in addition, tend to work shorter hours, if they were satisfied with their immediately preceding job.

The exact mechanisms by which satisfied workers obtain jobs with certain desired characteristics cannot be established with these data. However, there are several possible explanations for these findings. Workers who were satisfied with earlier jobs may have had greater discretion in later employment decisions, given that they already held a job they liked. People who held jobs they liked may have had clearer definitions of the type of work they were looking for -- presumably selecting new jobs with at least some of the same desired characteristics. Or, satisfied workers may have had better job opportunities, if, for example, previous employers were likely to provide better references for them than for dissatisfied employees. In addition, earlier job satisfaction may reflect success or productivity in the earlier job that gives the employee a stronger competitive position in the labor market than the less productive, less satisfied worker. (See Sheridan and Slocum 1975 and Lawler and Porter 1967 for discussions of the causal relationship between job satisfaction and productivity).

Whatever the mechanisms operating, orientations to work appear to have some effects on current occupational conditions. Although the stability of job satisfaction between jobs is not high, there are also indirect

consequences of preestablished work attitudes for current job satisfaction through current job conditions. The scope of these indirect effects should not be exaggerated. Earlier job conditions are much more important determinants of current job conditions (path B in figure 2) than is earlier job satisfaction (path A). Still, there is some evidence that work attitudes enter in the process of recruitment and retention in occupations.12

Job Satisfaction and Job Molding

Although there is substantial evidence that there are significant effects of job conditions on worker's job satisfaction -- more powerful than the influence of preestablished work satisfaction on job conditions -- a second question of causality must be addressed. The contemporaneous relationship between current job conditions and current job satisfaction could result from workers adjusting performance, and thereby their work conditions, according to their current satisfaction with the job -- the reverse causal ordering from that assumed in path C of figure 2. Although there is little empirical evidence that job satisfaction alters work behavior or productivity, there is still controversy surrounding this issue (see reviews by Locke 1969 and Mortimer 1979). We therefore address the competing hypothesis that the relationship between current job conditions

and current job satisfaction can be attributed to job molding motivated by degree of satisfaction. in a contemporaneous reciprocal-effects model. This analysis uses the LISREL computer program (Joreskog and van Thillo 1972) as subsequently modified by Ronald Schoenberg.

To assess the contemporaneous reciprocal effects of occupational conditions and job satisfaction. we have to make some assumptions that limit the number of parameters to be estimated. Otherwise. the number of parameters to be estimated would be greater than the amount of information available the equations would thus be underidentified. and it would be impossible to obtain unique estimates of the parameters. The assumptions we use to identify the equations are that some effects cannot be direct. only indirect. There are two general restrictions made on the model (see figures 3 and 4): First. we assume that work conditions experienced in an earlier job do not have direct impact on current job satisfaction. but are indirectly linked insofar as earlier job conditions determine current job conditions. This assumption is also made in figure 2. Second we posit that certain background characteristics -- region of origin. urbanicity. fathers' occupational status. and parental education -- may have affected placement in earlier jobs. but would not have been evaluated as job credentials by current employers. hence do not directly affect the occupational conditions of the current (1974) job.13

In the reciprocal models. we reevaluate the contemporaneous relationship of those job conditions that were shown to have statistically significant effects on current satisfaction in Table 2 and could possibly be altered by the worker within the framework of the current job. For men this includes closeness of supervision. time pressure. risk of loss of job or business. and job protections. Organizational structure (levels of formal authority/size) and position in the supervisory hierarchy also had significant effects on job satisfaction in Table 2 but cannot be molded by the worker in his current job. By definition. to change these job conditions the employee must change jobs it is not a contemporaneous process (Miller et al. 1979 and Kohn and Schooler 1980).

For women, Table 2 shows significant effects of substantive complexity. time pressure. hours worked. dirtiness. risk of loss of job or business. and job income on satisfaction. However. because the reciprocal model requires earlier job information for each job characteristic allowed to have a reciprocal relationship with satisfaction. we cannot test the contemporaneous causal ordering of job income and risk of loss with job satisfaction for women. There is no retrospective information on these job conditions to be used for statistical identification.

The contemporaneous reciprocal-effects models for men and women are shown in figures 3 and 4 respectively. The results reported cannot be compared directly by gender: the subset of variables examined for each sex

overlap but are not identical. This lack of comparability is necessitated by the limited information on women's earlier job conditions (see requirements of instrumentation above) and related problems of estimation. Nonetheless, we can further evaluate the contemporaneous effects of job conditions and job satisfaction in separate reciprocal-effects models and test whether the multiple regression analyses (findings from which can be compared by gender) were misspecified in causal ordering. For men and for women, the reciprocal models indicate that current job conditions are more likely to determine job satisfaction than workers' satisfaction is to influence job conditions.

Findings for Men

Figure 3 confirms that men are more likely to become dissatisfied with their jobs if they are closely supervised, work in large organizations with many levels of authority, have few job protections, or have a low position in the supervisory hierarchy. In contrast, jobs in small organizations with few levels of formal authority that offer extensive protections, freedom from supervision, and supervisory authority increase job satisfaction. There is no evidence that job satisfaction has contemporaneous effects on any job condition.

Time pressure and risk of loss of job may also have direct effects on job satisfaction, but their coefficients are not statistically significant in the reciprocal-effects model. However, the competing effects of job satisfaction on these job conditions are not significant and are so small (.03 and .00 respectively) that our inability to statistically verify the effect of these job conditions on workers' satisfaction is probably due to inadequate identification.14 If the competing contemporaneous effects of job satisfaction on time pressure and hours worked are set to zero, both variables have significant effects on workers' satisfaction. Assuming the opposite causation by permitting job satisfaction to affect, but not to be affected by, time pressure and risk of loss, there is no evidence of job molding: both effects are statistically nonsignificant. We therefore conclude that the significant effects presented in Table 2 for men were not the result of a misspecification of the causal model. Current job conditions determine satisfaction with the current job.

Findings for Women

Figure 4 confirms that women's satisfaction with work is strongly affected by its substantive complexity and frequency of time pressure. High complexity and infrequent time pressure increase job satisfaction. In addition, the analysis suggests that dirtiness and number of hours worked

have negative effects on job satisfaction. However. these effects are not statistically significant in the reciprocal-effects model. although of much larger magnitude than the paths in the reverse causal order (-.12 compared to -.02 and -.17 compared to -.06). Setting the competing paths from job satisfaction to dirtiness and hours worked to zero. the direct effects of these job conditions on satisfaction are statistically significant. In the reverse situation -- where job satisfaction affects. but is not affected by. dirtiness and hours worked -- the competing path to dirtiness is still nonsignificant. There is no evidence that women adjust the dirtiness of tasks on the basis of current job satisfaction. For hours worked, we cannot statistically disentangle the contemporaneous reciprocal relationship with job satisfaction. If either contemporaneous path is omitted from the model. the other becomes significant. In this case. the conclusions drawn from Table 2 are more tentative.

The analysis also shows that women's job satisfaction is affected by job income and risk of loss of job or business. However. these effects have not been tested against the competing hypothesis that women can influence their income and risk of loss of job depending on current orientations toward work. As noted earlier. the reciprocal-effects model requires information on earlier job conditions for its identification. These data are not available for job income and risk of loss their

contemporaneous reciprocal effects with job satisfaction cannot be estimated. Thus, the model is misspecified to the extent that women can influence income and risk of loss within the context of the current job.

The women's reciprocal-effects model does suggest a single instance of job molding. The higher women's job satisfaction, the more likely they are to work under frequent time pressure. However, frequent time pressure will, in turn, decrease satisfaction with work.15

DISCUSSION

This study examines individual and occupational determinants of job satisfaction for men and women. We find strong evidence of a direct connection between day-to-day job conditions and job satisfaction, regardless of gender. Although there is selection of workers into particular jobs on the basis of background and satisfaction with previous jobs, this process does not overshadow the effects of current job conditions on employee satisfaction. Job conditions are more strongly related to job satisfaction than are the social characteristics of the workers or the predispositions they bring to the job.

Furthermore, contemporaneous reciprocal-effects models demonstrate that the relationships between job conditions and job satisfaction are not an artifact of workers adjusting performance, and thereby their job

conditions. according to current satisfaction with the job. In only one instance is there evidence that dissatisfied workers may carry out their work differently from satisfied workers. Women who are satisfied with their jobs appear to be able to work under more frequent time pressure than women who are dissatisfied. However. time pressured work has a significant and even more powerful detrimental effect on job satisfaction. Thus, we find that men and women's satisfaction with employment is directly affected by their current job experiences.

Although both men and women evaluate their jobs in terms of the immediate work environment, there are differences in the particular job conditions that influence satisfaction. Women are most sensitive to the substantive complexity of their work. dirtiness. number of hours worked. and job income, while men are most affected by closeness of supervision. organizational structure. position in the supervisory hierarchy. and job protections. Time pressure and risk of loss of job are important for both men and women.

Some of these differences may stem from the distribution of men and women in particular occupations. For example, women's occupations are less likely to be unionized and they are more likely to offer part-time jobs. We would expect job income to be more important than job protections in predicting women's satisfaction. because they have fewer job protections and their benefits are less likely to include income guarantees. But. for

men. job protections often include financial guarantees as well as other contractual protections; consequently. it is the more powerful determinant of men's job satisfaction. It also appears that. given the jobs women hold. freedom from close supervision does not necessarily allow occupational self-direction. Thus. variation in closeness of supervision among women does not affect satisfaction with work.

Other gender differences in the occupational determinants of job satisfaction appear to be related to differences in work values. The particular importance men place on positional authority is again seen in the strong effects that closeness of supervision. formal levels of authority. and position in the supervisory hierarchy have on men's job satisfaction. In contrast, women emphasize job pressures in judging work we find that dirtiness and hours worked predict women's job satisfaction.16

Perhaps the most dramatic gender difference in the occupational determinants of job satisfaction is the strong effect of substantive complexity on women's job satisfaction. while for men it has no independent impact on job satisfaction. This difference in affective responses to work does not parallel gender differences in criteria for judging work. Both men and women find intrinsic aspects of the job -- how interesting it is. the chance for exciting work. the opportunity to feel pride in craftsmanship -- important criteria yet, affective responses to the substantive complexity of work are stronger for women than for men. It

seems to be the autonomy associated with complex work that produces job satisfaction for men. For women, complex work does not necessarily imply autonomy; their subjective rewards come from the challenge and interest inherent in the tasks themselves, not freedom from control.

Although there are differences in the particular occupational determinants of job satisfaction for men and women, the broad range of job conditions that influence affective responses to work is impressive for each. Men and women are sensitive to at least some aspect of occupational self-direction, job pressures, rewards or protections, and job uncertainties. In addition, organizational structure and position are important for men's satisfaction with work. Variation in the determinants of job satisfaction by gender suggest important differences in values brought to the job. Yet, adjustment to work cannot be viewed as entirely conditional on the individual values or "needs" associated with gender. The nature of the work and sources of potential gratification in particular jobs must be examined. Job conditions that constrain opportunities for self-direction, subject the worker to pressures or uncertainties, or limit pay or protections will result in unfavorable evaluation of employment, regardless of the sex of the worker.

NOTES

1. Several studies indicate that women are more concerned with socio-emotional and convenience aspects of their jobs than are men (Herzberg et al. 1957, Saleh and Lalljee 1969. Quinn et al. 1974. Kalleberg 1975). There is also evidence (Kalleberg 1977) that the importance placed on particular dimensions of work experience can affect overall job assessment. Although many aspects of work are equally important to men and women (Crowley et al. 1973. Saleh and Lalljee 1969. Centers and Bugental 1966), certain criteria for judging work and thus determinants of job satisfaction may differ by gender.

2. The original survey was conducted with a sample of 3202 men, representative of all men at least 16 years old who were then employed at least 20 hours per week in civilian occupations in the United States. In 1974 the National Opinion Research Center carried out a follow-up study, interviewing a representative sample of 687 of those men who were than less than 65 years old. The age limitation was imposed to increase the probability that the men in the follow-up study would still be in the labor force. For more detailed information on sample and research design, see Kohn and Schooler 1969, 1978.

3. The mean level of job satisfaction for women is slightly but significantly lower than that for men. There is no difference in variance by gender. The reader should note that the metric of the composite index has no intrinsic meaning by which to rate absolute levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Theoretical and empirical arguments supporting multi-dimensional operationalizations of job satisfaction can be found in Kalleberg 1974. Kahn 1972. Wanous and Lawler 1972. and Locke 1969. Also see footnote 16.

4. Occupational status is measured by the Hollingshead index of occupational position. Race is dichotomized. The indices of national background. region, and religious background are linear approximations, ordered in terms of environmental complexity. The full rationale for these linearizations is given in Schooler 1972 and 1976.

5. Women who were not previously employed have missing data on earlier job experiences. Pair-wise deletion of missing data is used in this analysis.

6. The negative effect of education on job satisfaction has been reported in other studies. see Tannenbaum et al. 1974.

7. Although modeling the relationship between other psychological predispositions and job satisfaction is beyond the scope of this study, preliminary analysis indicates that the effects of job conditions on satisfaction are not altered when self-esteem, anxiety, stance toward change, and fatalism are controlled.

8. This interpretation is supported by the findings of research investigating other dimensions of psychological functioning. Closeness of supervision does not affect women's intellectual functioning, social orientations, or self-conceptions (Miller et al. 1979), although it is an important determinant of various aspects of men's psychological functioning (Kohn and Schooler 1973).

9. Kohn (1971) argues that job protections are, by definition, central to the impact of bureaucratization on workers and reflect an aspect of bureaucracy that is independent of size. This suggests that the negative effect reported here is in most part the result of the effect of size on job satisfaction rather than of the impact of the vertical structure of authority. If size (measured by number of people) is substituted for the composite index, it has a significant negative effect, of similar magnitude, on satisfaction (net beta = -.17). However, the effect of size cannot be statistically separated from the effect of the composite index in the same equation. The measures are too highly correlated (r = .94).

10. In the women's data, "earlier" job satisfaction refers to the immediately preceding job; for men, the referent is the job held 10 years ago. Although some 70% of the men changed jobs in the 10-year interval, the interpretation of the lagged path from earlier satisfaction to 1974 job conditions as resulting from changing jobs -- as opposed to altering the conditions of the same job -- is less clear in the men's data than in the women's.

11. Information about a woman's immediately preceding job is less precise than the current job description. Closeness of supervision and routinization are based upon single-item retrospective reports about the overall amount of direction given by the supervisor and the variability of tasks. Substantive complexity is an approximate index based on the Dictionary of Occupational Titles' (U.S. Department of Labor 1965) ratings of the average level of complexity of work with data, with people, and with things for the occupation described by the respondent, together with the amount of time she reports having spent at each type of activity. The other characteristics of the immediately preceding job are measured by single-item indicators. See Miller et al. 1979 for further information on measurement.

12. These findings are consistent with research showing that work values influence job selection (Mortimer and Lorence 1979).

13. In these models, earlier job satisfaction and earlier job conditions are treated as exogenous variables.

14. The adequacy of the statistical identification of the reciprocal-effects models will depend on the magnitude of the correlations between earlier job conditions and current job satisfaction and the magnitude of the correlations between selected background characteristics and current job conditions. Unfortunately, none of these correlations is strong and the models are only weakly identified. In such situations, standard errors of the estimates become large and neither reciprocal path can be assessed with strict statistical confidence.

15. To further insure that the contemporaneous reciprocal effects of time pressure and job satisfaction are not the result of multicolinearity, all the reciprocal effects involving other job conditions and satisfaction were fixed at zero to increase statistical identification and, the equations were reestimated. The estimates prove to be robust. The plausibility of opposite-signed effects in feedback models is discussed by Heise (1975).

16. Individual differences in criteria for judging work (importance of particular dimensions) are incorporated into the job satisfaction index by definition. This assumes that subjective evaluation of job experiences begins with the worker's assessment of importance and further that these dimensions can be differentiated as fairly or very important. To test the impact of the latter assumption on the analysis, the regressions were repeated without the fairly versus very important weighting factor. The results are unchanged, supporting Robinson, Athanasiou and Head's observation (1969) that such weighting factors seldom alter the magnitude of relationships.

Because degree of satisfaction was asked only for dimensions of work deemed important by the respondent -- a decision made on the basis of pretests that indicated that respondents rejected inquiries about satisfaction with dimensions they had just identified as unimportant criteria -- the composite job satisfaction index cannot be entirely reconstructed to disregard importance. However, if a single-item measure of overall job satisfaction is substituted in the analysis, a similar pattern of results emerge, although significance levels are somewhat different. This result is consistent with Kalleberg's finding (1974) that use of a single-item, overall job satisfaction measure understates the magnitude of relationships.

REFERENCES

CENTERS. R. and D. E. BUGENTAL (1966) "Intrinsic and extrinsic job motivations among different segments of the working population." Journal of Applied Psychology 50: 193-197.

CROWLEY. J., T. E. LEVITIN. and R. P. QUINN (1973) "Seven deadly half-truths about women." Psychology Today 6: 94-96.

HEISE. D. R. (1975) Causal Analysis. New York: Wiley and Sons.

HERZBERG. F., B. MAUSNER. R. PETERSON. and D. CAPWELL (1957) Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion. Pittsburgh: Psychological Services of Pittsburgh.

JORESKOG. K. G., and M. VAN THILLO (1972) "LISREL: a general computer program for estimating a linear structural equation system involving multiple indicators of unmeasured variables." Research Bulletin 72-56. Princeton. N. J.: Educational Testing Service.

KAHN, R. L. (1972) "The meaning of work: interpretation and proposals for measurement." pp.159-204 in A. Campbell and P. E. Converse (Eds.) The Human Meaning of Social Change. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

KALLEBERG, A. L. (1974) "A causal approach to the measurement of job satisfaction." Social Science Research 3: 299-322.

--- (1975) Work Values. Job Rewards and Job Satisfaction: A Theory of the Quality of Work Experience. Ph. D. dissertation. University of Wisconsin (unpublished).

--- (1977) "Work values and job rewards: a theory of job satisfaction." American Sociological Review 42: 124-143.

KOHN. M. L. (1971) "Bureaucratic man: a portrait and an interpretation." American Sociological Review 36: 461-474.

KOHN. M. L. and C. SCHOOLER (1969) "Class. occupation. and orientation." American Sociological Review 34: 659-678.

--- (1973) "Occupational experiences and psychological functioning: an assessment of reciprocal effects." American Sociological Review 38: 97-118.

--- (1978) "The reciprocal effects of the substantive complexity of work and intellectual flexibility: a longitudinal assessment." American Journal of Sociology 84: 24-52.

--- (1980) "Job conditions and intellectual flexibility: a longitudinal assessment of their reciprocal effects." in E. F. Borgatta and D. J. Jackson (eds.) Factor Analysis and Measurement in Sociological Research: A Multi-Dimensional Perspective. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

LAWLER, E. E., III, and L. W. PORTER (1967) "The effect of performance on job satisfaction." Industrial Relations 7: 20-28.

LOCKE, E. A. (1969) "What is job satisfaction?" Organizational Behavior and Human Performance 4: 309-336.

--- (1970) "Job satisfaction and job performance: a theoretical analysis." Organizational Behavior and Human Performance 5: 484-500.

--- (1976) "The nature and causes of job satisfaction." pp. 1279-1349 in M. D. Dunnette (ed.) Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology. Chicago: Rand McNally.

MILLER, J., C. SCHOOLER, M. L. KOHN, and K. A. MILLER (1979) "Women and work: the psychological effects of occupational conditions." American Journal of Sociology 85: 66-94.

MORTIMER, J. T. (1979) "Changing attitudes toward work." Studies in Productivity: Highlights of the Literature. Scarsdale: Work in America Institute.

MORTIMER, J. T. and J. LORENCE (1979) "Work experience and occupational value socialization: a longitudinal study." American Journal of Sociology 84: 1361-1385.

OPPENHEIMER, V. K. (1970) The Female Labor Force in the United States. Westport: Greenwood Press.

QUINN, R. P., G. L. STAINES and M. R. MCCULLOUGH (1974) Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend? Manpower Research Monograph No. 30. U.S. Department of Labor. Washington, DC: Manpower Administration.

ROBINSON, J. P., R. ATHANASIOU, and K. B. HEAD (1969) Measures of Occupational Attitudes and Occupational Characteristics. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research.

SALEH, S. D. and M. LALLJEE (1969) "Sex and job orientation." Personnel Psychology 22: 465-471.

SCHOOLER, C. (1972) "Social antecedents of adult psychological functioning." American Journal of Sociology 78: 299-322.

--- (1976) "Serfdom's legacy: an ethnic continuum." American Journal of Sociology 81: 1265-1286.

SHERIDAN, J. E. and J. W. SLOCUM, Jr. (1975) "The direction of the causal relationship between job satisfaction and work performance." Organizational Behavior and Human Performance 14: 159-172.

TANNENBAUM, A. S., B. KAVCIC, M. ROSNER, M. VIANELLO, and G. WEISER (1974) Hierarchy in Organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR (1965) Dictionary of Occupational Titles--Third edition. Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office.

--- (1976) The Role and Status of Women Workers in the United States and Japan. Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office.

WANOUS, J. P. and E. E. LAWLER, III (1972) "Measurement and meaning of job satisfaction." Journal of Applied Psychology 56: 95-105.

TABLE 1

DEGREE OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN IMPORTANCE OF PARTICULAR JOB CHARACTERISTICS FOR JUDGING WORK AND SEX OF WORKER[a]

Job Characteristics	Kendall's Tau c[b]
How interesting the work is	-.03
Chance for exciting work	-.04
Opportunity to feel pride in craftsmanship	-.02
The chance to use your abilities	-.05*
The supervisor	.04
Amount of freedom you have	-.11*
Not being under too much pressure	.17*
The hours you work	.24*
How tiring the work is	.12*
How clean the work is	.15*
The chance to get ahead	-.13*
Opportunity to exercise leadership	-.15*
Opportunity to make your own decisions	-.12*
How highly people regard the job	-.07*
Job security	-.04
The pay	-.03
Fringe benefits	-.00
The chance to help people	.11*
Your co-workers	.00

a Importance is coded as very, fairly, or not important.

b Tau c is a measure of association that assumes ordinal scaling; no association=0, perfect association=1. A negative sign indicates more importance for men, a positive sign more importance for women.

* Coefficient statistically significant, $p \leq .05$.

TABLE 2

EFFECTS OF CURRENT JOB CONDITIONS ON WORKER SATISFACTION FOR MEN AND WOMEN

	Controlling: Other Job Conditions[a]		Controlling: Other Job Conditions, Background, & Earlier Job Satisfaction[b]	
	Standardized Regression Coefficients[+]			
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Occupational Self-Direction				
Substantive Complexity	.09* (2.91)	.19* (6.12)	.10* (3.11)	.30* (9.82)
Closeness of Supervision	-.24* (-18.88)	-.06 (- 6.22)	-.27* (-20.80)	-.05 (- 5.33)
Routinization	.00 (.13)	-.01 (- .45)	.02 (.46)	-.05 (- 1.50)
Job Pressures				
Time Pressure	-.13* (- 4.74)	-.12* (- 4.00)	-.08* (- 3.01)	-.13* (- 4.44)
Hours Worked	-.01 (- .03)	-.23* (- .87)	.00 (.01)	-.24* (- .92)
Heaviness	.04 (1.56)	.01* (.52)	.02 (.90)	-.00* (- .31)
Dirtiness	-.03 (- 1.14)	-.18* (- 9.54)	-.02 (- .63)	-.17* (- 9.07)
Organizational Structure & Position				
Levels of Authority/Size	-.20* (- 5.03)	-.09 (- 2.18)	-.15* (- 3.90)	-.01 (- .21)
Ownership	.06 (6.15)	-.06 (- 7.75)	.06 (6.89)	-.03 (- 3.56)
Position in Supervisory Hierarchy	.13* (2.98)	-.05 (- 1.37)	.11* (2.59)	-.09 (- 2.63)
Job Uncertainties				
Risk of Loss of Job or Business	-.12* (- 7.35)	-.17* (-11.24)	-.09* (- 5.82)	-.19* (-12.92)
Responsibility for Things Outside One's Control	-.06 (- 2.50)	-.09 (- 3.48)	-.04 (- 1.59)	-.10 (- 4.20)
Rewards & Protections				
Job Income	-.01* (- .15)	.12 (1.86)	-.02* (- .40)	.19* (3.01)
Job Protections	.24* (9.73)	.06 (2.04)	.22* (8.84)	.05 (1.67)
	Multiple-Partial Correlations			
Occupational Self-Direction	.27*	.18*	.28*	.24*
Job Pressures	.14*	.33*	.09	.34*
Organizational Structure & Position	.24*	.10*	.21*	.10*
Job Uncertainties	.13*	.21*	.11*	.25*
Rewards & Protections	.21*	.12*	.20*	.18*
All Job Conditions	.44*[c]	.50*[c]	.41*	.52*
Background			.15*	.34*
Earlier Job Satisfaction			.30*	.12*

a All job conditions are included in the multiple regression equations.

b All job conditions together with education, age, racial, national, and religious background, urbanicity and region of the country where raised, mother's and father's education, father's occupational status and earlier job satisfaction are included in the equations.

+ Unstandardized coefficients in parentheses

* Statistically significant, $p \leq .05$

c multiple R

TABLE 3

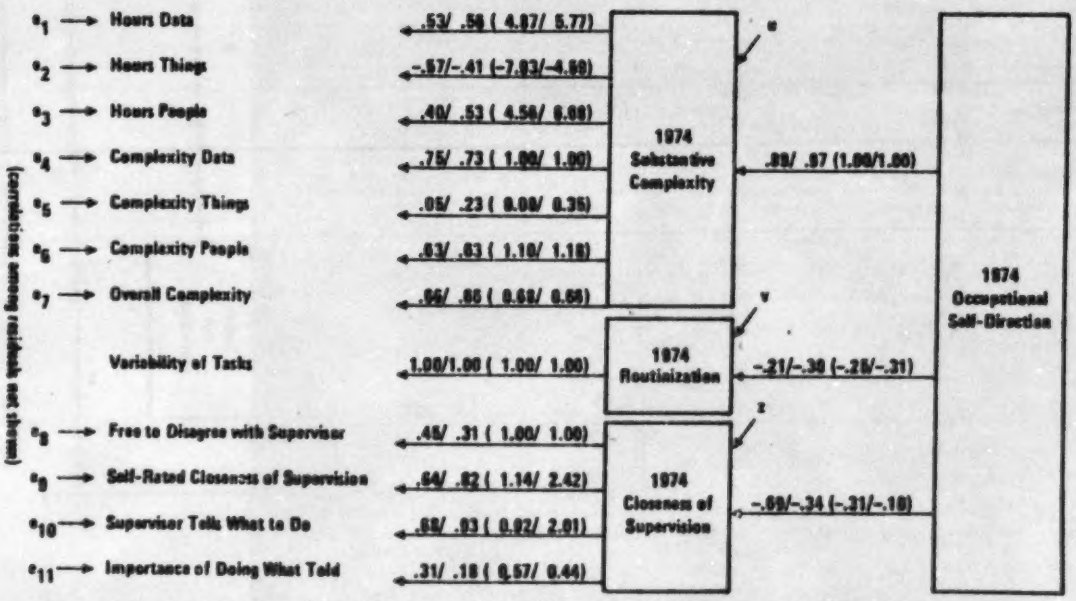
THE EFFECT OF EARLIER JOB SATISFACTION ON CURRENT JOB CONDITIONS CONTROLLING BACKGROUND AND EARLIER JOB CONDITIONS[a]

Current (1974) Job Conditions	Standardized Regression Coefficients	
	Men	Women
Substantive complexity	.01	.06
Closeness of supervision	.05	-.11
Routinization	-.05	.11
Time pressure	-.11*	-.15*
Hours worked	-.04	-.17*
Heaviness	-.00	-.13
Dirtiness	.02	-.06
Levels of formal authority	.00	-.08
Ownership	-.01	.11
Position in supervisory hierarchy	-.01	-.07
Risk of loss of job or business	-.03	-.05
Responsibility for things outside one's control	-.08*	-.24*
Job income	-.01	-.08
Job protections	.05	-.10

a Education, age, racial, national, and religious background, urbanicity and region of the country where raised, mother's and father's education, and father's occupational status are included in all equations. For men, controls also include all job conditions in table as of 1964 job. For women, controls include more limited information on the immediately preceding job: substantive complexity, routinization, closeness of supervision, levels of formal authority, position in the supervisory hierarchy, time pressure, average hours worked per week, dirtiness, and the probability of being held responsible for things outside one's control.

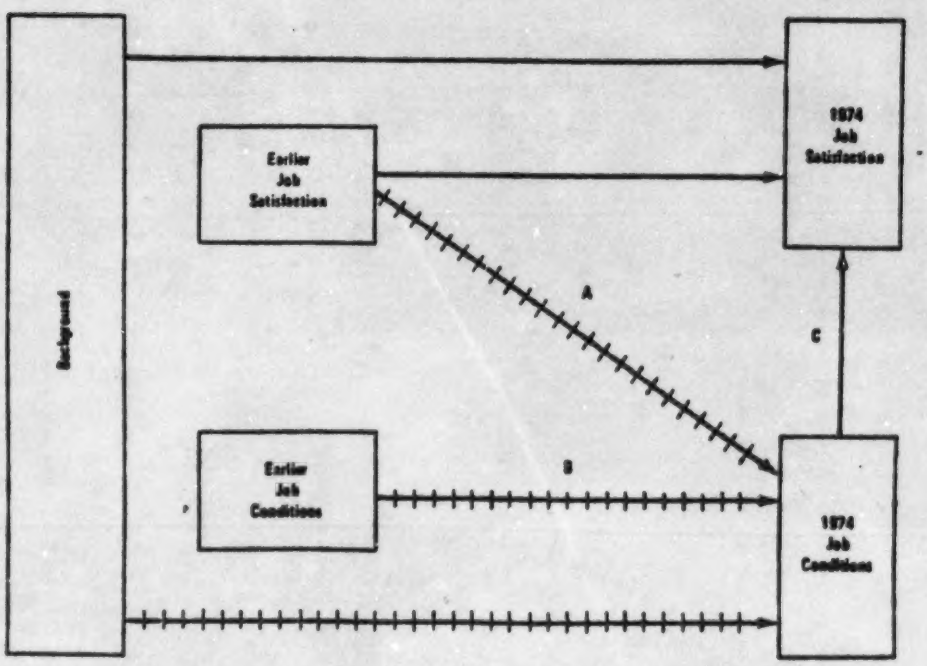
* Coefficient statistically significant, $p \leq .05$.

Fig. 1 Second-Order Measurement Model of Occupational Self-Direction for Men and Women*
Standardized Coefficients -- Men/Women Respectively -- Followed by
Unstandardized Coefficients in Parentheses


e1 → Hours Data
e2 → Hours Things
e3 → Hours People
e4 → Complexity Data
e5 → Complexity Things
e6 → Complexity People
e7 → Overall Complexity
Variability of Tasks
e8 → Free to Disagree with Supervisor
e9 → Self-Rated Closeness of Supervision
e10 → Supervisor Tells What to Do
e11 → Importance of Doing What Told
(correlations among residuals not shown)
.53/ .56 (4.87/ 5.77)
-.57/-.41 (-7.03/-4.59)
.40/ .53 (4.56/ 6.08)
.75/ .73 (1.00/ 1.00)
.05/ .23 (0.08/ 0.35)
.63/ .63 (1.10/ 1.18)
.66/ .66 (0.68/ 0.66)
1.00/1.00 (1.00/ 1.00)
.45/ .31 (1.00/ 1.00)
.64/ .62 (1.14/ 2.42)
.68/ .93 (0.92/ 2.01)
.31/ .18 (0.57/ 0.44)
1974 Substantive Complexity
1974 Routinization
1974 Closeness of Supervision
u
v
z
.89/ .97 (1.00/1.00)
-.21/-.30 (-.25/-.31)
-.69/-.34 (-.31/-.18)
1974 Occupational Self-Direction

*Men's parameters for 1974 estimated as part of a longitudinal measurement model; see Kohn and Schooler 1980 for full specification of first-order measurement model. Women's data is cross-sectional; see Miller et al. 1979 for full description of model.

Fig. 2 Causal Ordering of Regression Analysis

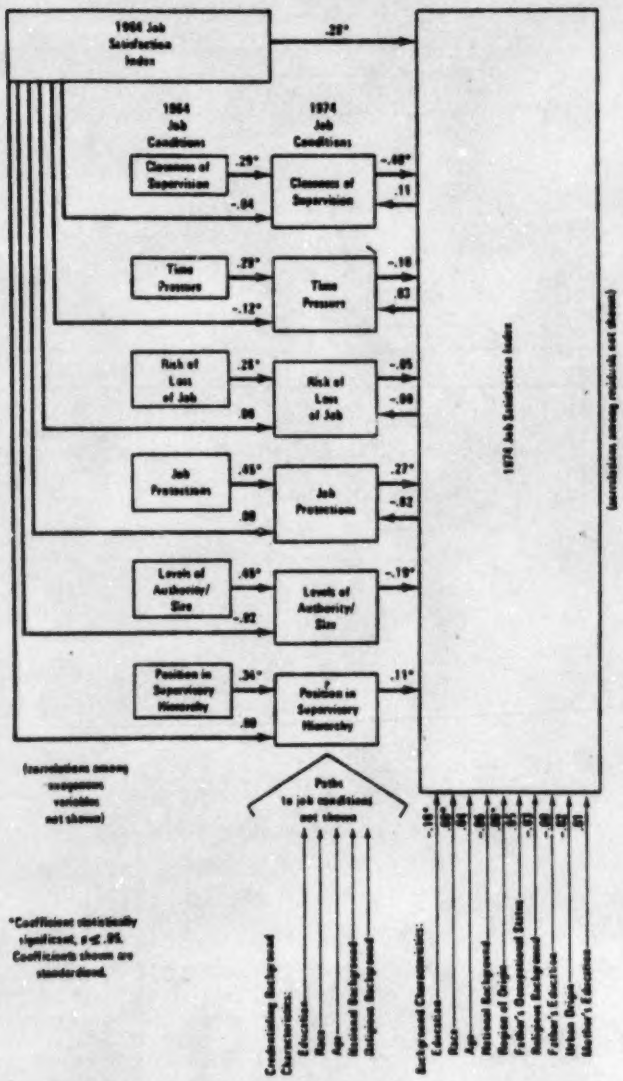


Solid line (——►) illustrates causal ordering of regression analysis in Table 2.

Barbed line (├┼┼►) illustrates causal ordering of Table 3.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Fig. 3 The Contemporaneous Reciprocal Effects of Job Conditions and Job Satisfaction for Men



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Fig. 4 The Contemporaneous Reciprocal Effects of Job Conditions and Job Satisfaction for Women